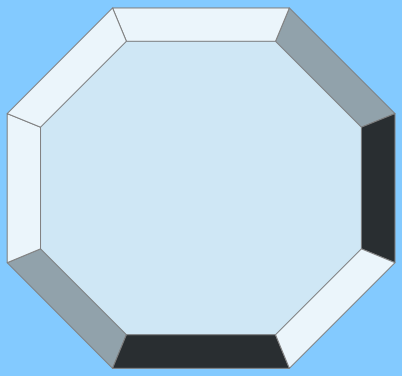
A.P. MARYUKHIN

AFRO-CAUCASIAN LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY



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Preface

Today's interest to typological linguistics is not merely a desire to adventures but hard monotonous work. In contemporary language investigation on different continents, every discovery leads to new attempts of revision in current linguistic trends. My book-note arose as an answer to one of such modern and rather fruitful issues by Prof. Babaev Kirill, who devoted his life to African culture while visiting remote areas and exploring unknown language named Zialo.

Prof. Babaev's monograph “Introduction into African Linguistics” written in Russian remains the best among Russian linguists and ethnographers of the last decades. By closer look at Babaev's book, I have detected much endevour to embrace the “big matter”. I would like to enrich this task with some References to important works of German africanists not elucidated in Babaev's book. First of all, I refer to A. Drexel's and F. Hestermann's articles, forgotten and not much cited. Secondly, I insist on further attention to Friedrich Müller's works.

The next part of my issue continues the study of language typology perspectives made by German, Polish, and Austrian philologists in the field of Caucasian languages. Among them I would like to name a few: R. Bleichsteiner and V. Polák.

I lived in Dagestan for more than 20 years. With variable success, I learned the Georgian language by books and from those people who surrounded me. I devote my little issue to them. As much as I can, I also send my regards to the Krupskaya Scientific Library in Astrakhan whose help was significant and timely. I studied there amount of books concerning Caucasian language typology, gathered enough information to complete my work and found new trends in linguistics.

Astrakhan, 2021

PART I
CLASSIFICATION OF WORLD LANGUAGES

1. Typological Classification of World Languages

In some works devoted to genealogical classification of languages, there is a tendency to reject the reconstruction of a protolanguage and the word “genealogical classification” to replace to the term “language unit”. In this connection, many linguists offer to clarify the concept “genetic language kinship”. So, Mr Greenberg insists upon three methods of language classification: 1) genetic, 2) typological, and 3) areal.

I am sure that any typological system goes down to a protolanguage. It must be taken into account that such trace begins with the reconstruction of vocalism and consonantism.

PIE
Vocalism
a, e, i, o, u, ə, ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Diphtongs: *ai, ei, oi, au, eu, on; āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu*
Consonantism
p, ph, b, bh; t, th, d, dh; k, kh, g, gh; q, qh, g, g^h;
q^u, $q^u h$, g^u, $g^u h$; s, m, n, ŋ, ñ, r, l; ṁ, ṅ, ṛ, ḷ

Proto-Uralic
Vocalism
a, o, u, a, ä, e, i, ü (short); *ö, u, e, i* (long)
Consonantism
δ, δ′, γ, č, ć, j, k, l, l′, m, n, ń, ŋ, p, r, s, š, t, w

Proto-Turkish
Vocalism
a, ä, o, ö, u, ü, y, i; ā, ō, ī, ū
Consonantism
b, č, d, δ, γ, γ′, g, j, k, q, l, λ, m, n, ŋ, r, s, š, z

Reconstructed schemes or systems of vowels and consonants of a protolanguage should not be represented as a simple range of sounds. Specific articulation has to be represented as a set. It were strange, if in a protolanguage, for instance, there was only one long *ā.* It also concerns case systems, verbal paradigms, pronouns, numbers etc.

The first step to the building of a syntactic archetype was made by Mr Delbrück, who found that in IE protolanguage the pronoun stem *io* could be used as a relative pronoun; it was a syntactical unit for the whole archetype. Moreover, he guessed that the typological model may have a formal basement. The pronoun stem *io* is factually a basement of a definite syntactical unit. It follows from there that a syntactical archetype could be only a model with definite morphological structure.

2. Morphological Classification of World Languages

The idea of classifying languages according to their grammatical structure came from Fr. Schlegel. The first group includes: a) the languages without a grammatical

structure (Chinese), b) the languages with affixes with a polysyllabic structure, with the exception of the Indo-European ones. These latter form the group of organic languages, which in turn are subdivided into synthetic (the ancient languages: Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, etc.) and analytical (the modern IE languages). Later, Fr. Schlegel's brother W. Schlegel gave the following classification: 1. Languages without grammatical structure, 2. Languages with affixes, 3. Languages with inflections 1. This was the basis of the threefold morphological classification developed by A. Schleicher and Max Müller. The three-morphological classes are characterized by W. Schleicher as follows: “There are 1. languages that only consist of unstructured, unchangeable meaning sounds, isolating languages... IE would be at this level, 2. Languages that can add relational sounds to these unchangeable meaning sounds in front, in the middle, at the end or in several places at the same time. At this stage of development, the word would be *ai-mi, i-ma* or *i-mi*, 3. Languages that can regularly change the root as well as the relational sounds for the purpose of relational expression: inflected languages”.

Somewhat different, they are determined by Max Müller. He sees the characteristic of the morphological classes in the way in which the roots are used or put together as words; according to this we can expect three kinds of languages or three stages in the gradual formation of languages.

1. The roots can easily be used as words; each root retains its full independence.

2. Two roots can be combined into words, and in these combinations a root can lose its independence.

3. Two roots can be combined into words, and in these combinations both roots can give up their independence.

Max Müller calls the first stage “the root stage”, the second „agglutinating stage“, and the third “the inflected stage”. In his opinion, if we apply these general provisions to individual languages, we will soon encounter the difficulty that it is impossible to find a morphological stage that is valid for all languages or it is wrong to think of the stems and roots of the agglutinating languages as simply immutable.

The morphological classification is based on the structure of a word. If we compare the conjugation of the Russian word *stol* “table” (nom. *stol*, gen. *stola*, dat. *stolu,* acc. *stol*, instr. s*tolom,* prep. *stole*) with that of the French word *la table*, one sees straight away that there are no corresponding forms in French. The relations between words in French are expressed by means of prepositions: gen. *de la table*, “of the table”, dat.-acc. *a la table* “to (on) the table”, and so on. This is the situation in English, too. So languages like Russian are called *flexional* or *synthetic.* The French and English languages are *analytic.* The relations between these two types of languages are illustrated as follows:

Russian		*French*	
	a	de	
	u	à	
stol	om	avec	*la table*
	e	----	

According to Mr Pott, the characteristics of the individual morphological classes should mainly reflect the relationship between substance and form. W. Schleicher insisted that linguistics was a natural science, and language an object of nature just as much as a plant is. His scheme of classification, as interpreted by Mr Jespersen, runs as follows:

Class I – isolating or root languages:

(a) R (= root) – Chinese

(b) R + r (= root + auxiliary word) – Burmese

Class II – agglutinative languages:

Synthetic type

(a) Rs (= root + suffix) – Turkish and Finnish

(b) pR (= prefix + root) – Bantu languages

Analytic type

(c) Rs (or pR) + r – Tibetan

Class III – inflexional languages:

Synthetic type

(a) R_x (pure inner flexion) – Semitic languages

(b) pR_x (R_x s) (inner and outer flexion) – IE languages

Analytic type

pR_x (R_x s) + r – Romance languages, English

§1. Isolating Languages

In these languages, there is no essential difference between the material and the formal parts of the language. The word is an unchanged root; the relation of the words is indicated by words which, separated from the meaning elements, have not at all or only partially lost their independence. The relationship between material and form is a simple juxtaposition. The Chinese language is considered to be the type of this class.

§2. Agglutinating Languages

This class usually includes the Uralo-Altaic languages (Finno-Ugric, Turkish-Tatar, Samoyed, Mongolian, Manchu languages and dialects), the Dravida languages, the Malayo-Polynesian and South African (Bantu) languages, the American aboriginal languages and many others.

§3. Inflectional Languages

Such languages are the IE and Semito-Hamitic languages. Here it is customary to illustrate the types of modification and word formation common in the various morphological classes by means of algebraic formulas. The root, which cannot be changed for the relational expression, is denoted by *R*, if it is a meaning sound, i.e. has an independent function, and *r*, if it is only used as a relational sound. Chinese grammarians call the former “full words“, the latter “empty words“. These two elements are entirely sufficient for the strictly isolating languages such as Old Chinese. In Chinese everything that we express through endings, modifications and word formation is referred to by the auxiliary words, which for the most part can also function as independent words.

To give a few examples, Chinese uses the following auxiliary words to designate the dative and associative relationship: *iü* (give, help, stand) *kè* (give), *huộ* (harmony), *t'i*

(exchange), *túi* (answer). To determine the relation of the place one uses: *li* (place) *cung* (middle) for "in"; mien (face) for "outside" as postpositions, or *tsai* (sein for "in" as a preposition, e.g. *tsai c'ing* "in the city". For instrumental relationships, one uses the prepositions *i* (to take) and *yung* (to apply), e.g. *yung tao-tsi* "with the knife". The proportions of the verb must be expressed in the same way; the verbal stem always remains unchanged; the subject or pronoun denotes the person acting; tenses and modes are replaced by auxiliary verbs or adverbs.

In Chinese, the stem, which can usually also be considered as the root, always remains unchanged; there are no nominal and no verbal forms; that is why such languages are also called "informal". Chinese also has no special elements for word formation. Word formation here is actually composition, or rather juxtaposition. Thus, one forms abstracts by adding *č'ú* "place", sometimes also from *t'eû* "head". Since these determinants, which are used to denote the relationship or the modification of the term, stand before or after the full word in Chinese, we can use the formulas $r + R$, $R + r$, $r + R + r'$..., or $r + r' + ... R$ etc. There are, however, isolating languages in which all determining elements precede the word to be determined; for these languages, a formula $r + r' + ... R$, or $R + r + r'$ ... is valid.

A procedure that occurs frequently in the isolating languages is also the doubling of the root, which usually results in an increase or reinforcement of the basic meaning (plural, superlative) – in Chinese *čúng-čúng* "very difficult", *ming-ming* "very clear". In the Nama-Hottentot, which is also partly on the isolating level, transitive verbs are formed by doubling the stem: || *anu* "pure" || *anu* || *anu* „to clean".

In the agglutinating languages, the relational and word-forming elements of the root or the word stem are inserted in front, in the back, or in the middle, respectively; these are the prefixes *p*, suffixes *s*, infixes *i*, which are no longer standing alone here, but form a wholeness with the stem. We can denote this possible word formations by using the formulas *R, pR, Rs,* $^{r}_{i}$, p^{r}_{i} , $^{r}_{i}s$, *pRs,* $p^{r}_{i}s$, respectively also *pp'... R, R ss'* ... etc. In some agglutinating formulas, the additional elements can also undergo a particular change, so that we have the formula *Rsx*. However, not all of these forms are used in every agglutinating language.

There are agglutinating languages, in which the additional elements are exclusively, or at least predominantly, attached to the stem; this process is called "suffixation" and "prefixation". The first includes the Uralo-Altaic languages, Japanese, Dravidian languages, and others. So we have in Magyar from the verbal stem *áll* another derivations such as *áll-ok*, *áll-it*, *áll-hat-ok, áll-it-tat-hat-ta-l-ak.* The latter embraces the Bantu languages.

The insertion (infigation) is mainly used in the Malay languages. These infixes were probably prefixes placed behind the first consonant of the stem. For example, in Tagalog *s-in-ipit* "anchor" goes from *sipit* "grasp". In the inflectional languages, the relation can be indicated by the change of the root. Such a variable root is called R_x. We find an inner root modification, e.g. in the English forms: *drink, drank, drunk*; Arabic: *kataba* "he wrote", *katab-tu* "I wrote", *ja-ktubu* "he writes", *a-ktaba* "he dictates", *ta-kataba* "write to each other", *ikt- ataba* "inscribe", *kitab "*writing book"; *kutub* "books", etc.

So in these languages, apart from the pure forms of agglutination, we encounter formulas according to the formulas: $R^{x}s$, $pR^{x}s$, *Rxs*. If one takes into account the variability

of the attached formal element, we also get the formulas p^xR^x, R^xs^x. In the IE languages, the rear structure is predominantly used, while the Semito-Hamitic languages apply the prefix as an suffix in the same way. In some languages of this family, for example, in Arabic and in Ethiopian, there are cases of insertion. In addition to the three morphological classes mentioned, some linguists believe that they have to distinguish a fourth or even a fifth class. As the fourth, Mr Pott lists the incorporating languages, which remove the difference between a word and a sentence. The incorporation is in Basque and in many Indian languages and consists in the fact that the closer and more distant object of the personal pronoun merges with the verb by placing it between the stem and the personal ending. So in Basque we have from the stem *ekar* (to carry): *d-akar-t* "I carry it", *d-akar-su-t* "I carry it for you", *n-akar-k* "I carry you", *n-en-kar-su-n* "you carried me". In a broader sense, we could consider the French "je vous le donne" to be a corporate formation. Incidentally, incorporation occurs in some Finno-Ugric languages too, albeit to a more limited extent; Magyar has retained a few rudiments of this, such as *vár-l-ak* "I'm waiting for you", where the *l* is actually the inserted object of the second person (compare *vár-ok* "I'm waiting").

§4. Isolating vs Agglutinating Languages

It is not as easily to draw the line between isolating and agglutinating languages as one would like to believe according to the general definitions of linguistics. For in isolating languages we find a tendency to agglutinate. The determinatives, or as the Chinese grammarians call them "empty words", gradually lose their independent character. Auxiliary words that originally had a nominal, adjectival or verbal meaning are no longer used as such and are now pure terms of the relationship or modality, they are exclusively auxiliary words and gradually take on the character of suffixes or prefixes. This is particularly the case in colloquial Chinese, Burmese and Tibetan. In New Chinese there are certain formal elements that were originally material words, but are no longer perceived as such in current language usage. At this stage of language development one can rightly speak of a purely formal element of language; there is a certain difference between the formal and the material parts of language. On the other hand, certain compositions – mostly homonymous or antiphrastic – have become so constant that they seem to form a whole for the linguistic consciousness, and accordingly the language has apparently partly assumed a polysyllabic character. In New Chinese, for example, the relative pronoun *tik* has become, so to speak, an enclitic particle that attached to word stems or word combinations usually gives them an adjectival meaning, or forms *nomina actoris*. So *ngò* becomes "I", *ngò-tik* "mine". Likewise, men, originally "class", has lost its independence and serves as a plural particle. Many nouns are formed by adding substantive auxiliary words, which lose their independent meaning in the composition. The most common are *rë, tsä* "child"; for round objects: *t'eu* "head". Formations like *tao-tsa* "knife", *tung-li* are mere compound words in the Chinese linguistic consciousness, as for us the words, which are also composed of simple combinations: *beauty, friendship*. In these formations, the first step towards agglutination has already been taken; Burmese and Tibetan went even further in this respect, while Siamese retained their isolating character.

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PART II
AFRICAN LANGUAGE TYPE

§1. Stages of African Culture Development

1. The first stage is an archaic, formless culture that prevailed in the South Seas of Ancient Tasmania. Hardly anything can be said about it because it occurred here only in traces.

2. The second stage is a boomerang and a bow culture. The older arch culture would be by the pygmies, while the Sudan areas with their two provinces, the Eastern and Western districts would fall under the boomerang culture.

3. The totemic or West Papuan stratum is characterized by (local) totemism, Father Rights and Initiation. Its main constituents belong to Ancient Egypt with its animal cult, as well as other elements from this circle, such as head benches, penis sheaths, etc.

4. The West African culture with separately existing areas of the two-class and younger archery culture in one merger. The two-class culture embraces the Mother Rights, the secret societies and the mask dances.

5. The West Sudanese culture is strongly reminiscent of the Middle East where many elements can be found in the local subpopulation. It is characterized by shell money and some related elements.

6. The Hamitic stage, which started in Africa and from there spread over the wider continent.

7. The Islamic stage, which is still alive today.

These cultures developed among different people, which from their turn can be grouped as following:

1. A dwarf indigenous population, the Pygmies and Bushmen;

2. Nigritian Sudan peoples. Dark-colored, wool-haired, with isolating languages, without a strong tone with pitch; had bananas, wooden tools, bows and arrows, drum language, secret societies, mask dances, maybe conical roof hut. These perhaps formed the basis of the West African culture area;

3. The Proto-Hamites with agglutinating languages and numerous noun classes mixed with the Nigritians and made the Bantu;

4. Light-colored Hamites followed the previous ones through decades:

a) spread all over North Africa, southern Europe, mixed little with the darker residents and thus yielded the Kushitic Bishari, Hadendoa, Bari, Maasai, Fulbe, Hausa;

b) one group went south by mixing with Bushmen, Pygmies, and the Hottentots. Their languages were inflected with some gender differentiation.

Mr Seidel divides the East African peoples as follows:

A. Bantu peoples;

B. Sudan Negroes: Kavirondo (related to the Schilluk on the upper Nile);

C. Niloto-Hamites:

Wa-Huma,
Uassi people,
Wa-Fiomi,
Wa-Iraqu,
Maasai,
Wa-Kwafi,
Wa-Taturu.

§2. African Language Typology

Theoretically, we differentiate between pure language types, compound language types and mixed languages; these latter languages we can call as secondary mixed, of which the composite language types would have to be separated under the name “mixed types”. First of all, the expression “pure language type” is clear by itself: a type that emerges from its unambiguous source alongside and develops in contrast to other types. Every compound or mixed type leads to two or several source elements, which are uniform to a significant extent, that is to say to the specific typical unit. If we take an example that the Khoin (Bushmen and Hottentots) do not associate with any other language group, then this would be a pure type, even if the Hottentot deviates from the Bushman. It would also be conceivable to say that the Hottentot is already a mixture with elements of other very early African types. Above all, we always speak of relatively pure types, such as the Khoin, the Wule, the Ngo-Nke and the Bornu.

Any language classification by such presupposition seems to be imperfect. Yet we try to follow below some predominant ideas in African typology.

We begin with the ideas of Mr Finck, who shares the African languages, which he names according to the Oceanic Neger languages as the languages of the Ethiopian race, in two main groups – old and new, or as he calls them: 1. The Paleo-African language stem, with the subdivisions: a) the Bushman language branch, b) the Hottentott language branch; 2. the neo-African language stem with the groups: a) the Bantu, b) the Western Sudan, c) the Central Sudan, and d) the Nilotic language branch.

The neo-African language branch is the first group to have the Bantu language. The Bantu divides Mr Finck into two branches: an older and a younger. The latter has geographically merged itself into the former so that it creates a new dichotomy of the older Bantu, which he then divided into the North-Western and South-Eastern Bantu. The northwest subbranch of the older branch alienated from the original type and, reminding the West Sudan branch, embraces the five languages or dialect groups: 1. Bubi, 2. Cameroon dialects, 3. Fang, 4. Ponggwe, 5. Central Congo. The South-East Bantu has six subbranches: 1. Kafrish, 2. Thongga, 3. Wenda, 4. Tchwana, 5. Lengge (Ssiga), 6. Makua.

In the same way as the older Bantu languages, Mr Finck also divides the younger ones into the East and West halves.

The Eastern group contains: 1. Njoro, 2. Ganda, 3. Kamba, 4. Rega, 5. Taita, 6. Pokomo, 7. Nika, 8. Jaga, 9. Niamwesi, 10. Rundi, 11. Njwema, 12. Guha, 13. Shambala, 14. Swahili, 15. Ssagara, 16. Kingga, 17. Ganggi, 18. Unggu, 19. (Coastal) Konde, 20. Nyassa Konde, 21. Komoro, 22. Pangwa, 23. Jao, 24. Ssena, 25. Ssengga, 26. Karangga.

The Western half has fewer groups: 1. Herero, 2. Tongga, 3. South Mbundu, 4. Kwanggo (Mbunda), 5. Rotse, 6. Angola, 7. Loanggo, 8. Buma, 9. Lunda, 10. Luba.

Mr Finck represents Western Sudanic, Central Sudanic and Nilotic as independent and coordinating towards Bantu. The West Sudanic then includes Bantoid languages. The six branches of the West Sudanic become:

1. Senegambian: Wolof, Sserer, Pul;

2. The Fulupian: Bulom, Temne, Ssarar, Fulup (Felup), Banjun, Filham (Filhol), Bulanda, Pepel, Fada (Biafada), Bissago, Nalu, Landoma, Limba, Mampa, Kissi;

3. The Mandes languages: Many dialects are in six languages: two in Serechule

(Ssoninke), while the other four make a unit – the Mande (Mandingo): Bambara, Ssussu, Mande, Wei;

4. The Kru: Kru, Bassa, Grebo;

5. Nigritic:

a) Awikam-Efik group;

b) Misa group;

c) Inland group.

To this, Mr Finck counts several groups considered to belong to each other:

α) Awikam-Efik group:

a) Awikam (Awikwom): Mekjibo, Abure, Akje, Gua, Kjama, Alagian, Ari, Abe, Ajukru;

b) Tchi, Ga, Efe, Yoruba, Nupe;

c) Ibo;

d) Efik.

β) Misa group:

a) Adanme;

b) Avatime, Tafi, Njambo, Logba;

c) Nkunga (Guang);

d) Ssantrokofi, Apafu, Lipke, Acholo;

e) Bowiri;

f) Borada;

g) Kposso;

h) Atakpame;

i) Kebu (Gbo);

j) Adele;

k) Akassele (Tchampa), Boro.

γ) Inland group:

a) Mossi-Gurunsi, plus 14 individual languages;

b) Ssenufo, plus 6 individual languages.

6. The equatorial branch:

a) Ssandeh (Nyamnjam);

b) Mombuttu, Akka;

c) Barambo, Madi, Munggu, Gobbu, Kredsh, Golo.

The second subdivision of Sudanic is the Central Sudanic language branch, which can embrace:

1. The Songhai;

2. –

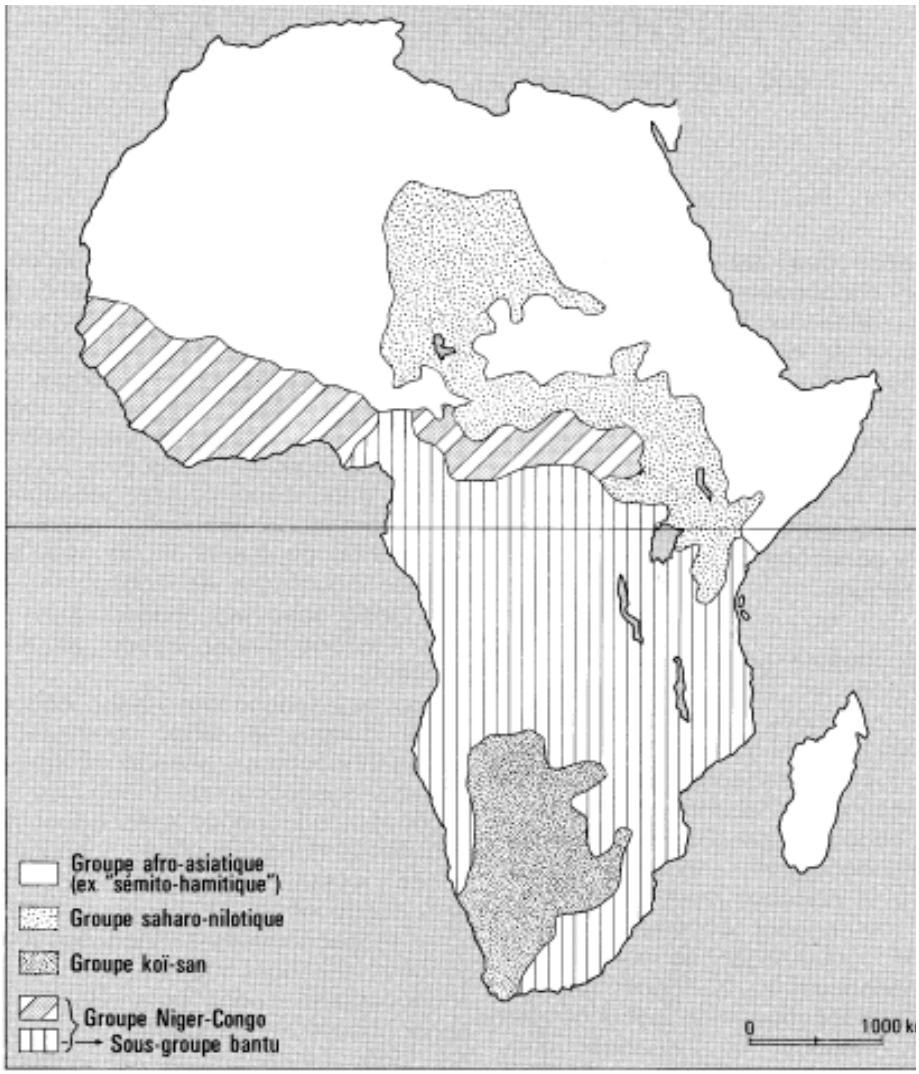
a) Hausa;

b) Kanuri, Musuk (Musgu) Logone, Wandala, Teda (Tibbu).

α) Bagrimma; β) Maba.

Mr Finck does not name the remaining part in the East after the Sudanic, but places it in the same coordinated way as the Bantu as the last group of younger African languages. He calls this language “Nilotic”. The next classifications are those of Mr Greenberg, Mr Babaev, Mr Bleek, and Mr Drexel. I introduce them only schematically.

Greenberg's Classification

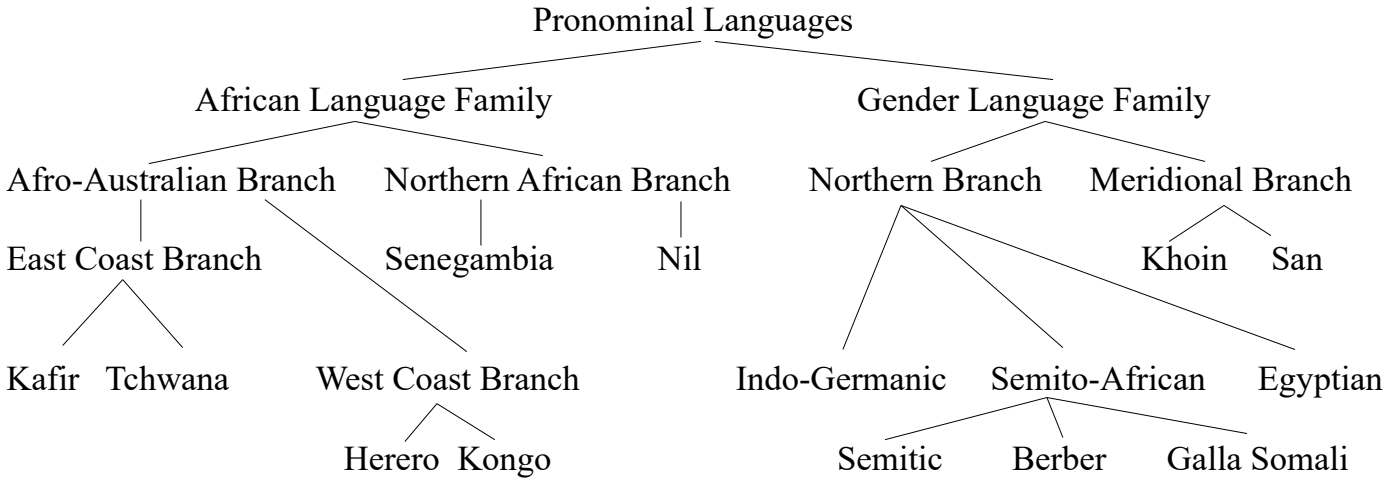


[taken from Manessy G.]

Babaev's Typology

Afroasiatic	*Nilo-Saharan*	*Niger-Congo*	*Khoisan*	*Isolated*
Semitic	East-Sudanic	Benue-Congo	Sandawe	Afrikaans
Berbero-Kanar	Central Sudanic	Kwa	Hadza	Malagasy
Kushitic	Saharan	Gur	Khoe	
Omotic	Songhai	Adamua, Ubangi	Ju	
Chadic		Kru	!Xóõ	
Old Egyptian		Mande		
Hamitic		Dogone		
		Atlantic		

Bleek's Classification



Meinhof's Classification

Bantu
Sudanic:
I. East
II. West
Hamito-Semitic:
I. Semitic
II Hamitic:
A. Ancient Egyptian
B. Cushitic
C. Berber
D. Hausa
E. Maasai
F. Fula
G. Nama

Westermann's Classification

Khoisan:
I. Nama
II. Bushman
Negro:
I. Nilotic
II. Bantu
III. Sudanic:
A. Nigritic
B. Mande
C. Semi-Bantu
D. Inner Sudan
Hamito-Semitic:
I. Semitic
II. Hamitic

Drexel's Classification

A. Proto-African Languages

I. Bantu-Neger Languages

Western:
1. Herero
2. Pongue (Mpongue)
3. Fernando Po

Eastern:
4. Kafir
a) //Osa (Ama-//osa)
b) Zulu

5. Tswana
a) Soto
b) Rolon
6. Swahili

II. Mixed Neger Languages

Western:	Middle:	Eastern:
1. Efik	12. Ful (Fula, Fellata)	23. Dinka
2. Ibo	13. Songai	24. Shilluk
3. Yoruba	14. Kanuri (Bornu)	25. Bongo
4. Ewe	15. Teda (Tubu, Tibbo)	26. Bari
5. Ga (Akra)	[16. Hausa]	27. Oigob
6. Tswi (Odschi, Otyi)	17. Logone	28. Nuba
7. Kru	18. Wandala	29. Barea
8. Vei (Mande)	19. Bagrima (Bagirmi)	
9. Tenne	20. Maba (Wadai)	
10. Bullom	21. Kongara (Dar-Fur)	
11. Wolof	22. Umale (Tumale)	

B. Hamitic Languages

I. Egyptian	III. Cushitic
1. Old Egyptian	1. Beja
2. Koptic	2. Saho
	3. Falasa
II. Libyan	4. Agau
1. Tuareg	5. Galla (Orma)
a) Kabyle	6. Dankali
b) Amaeg (Tamaseq)	7. Somali
2. Hausa	8. Hottentot (Koi-koin)

C. Semitic Languages

I. Habes	3. Amharic
1. Gebez	4. Harari
2. Tigre	II. Arabic

§3. Bushman Group

The oldest language class in Africa we refer to is the most typical to those representatives which may be called “Bushmen”. We denote all of them under the name Khoin; the Bushman language (including Bushman dialects) should be further named as San. In addition to the San, we find the languages of the Hottentots; we denote these languages or language units with the common name Damara.

The Bushman language, i.e. the San, is characterized by three remarkable idiosyncrasies: through the clicking sounds, the musical tone and finally through the structure of word and form, which is still very reminiscent of the root period.

The kinship of the San and Damara appears very much from this threefold instance. Then there is the verbal character of the Damara and its structure that come closest to the San. Another member of the Khoin type in Africa we call “Sandawe”. By this we mean the language of the Kindiga. The Khoin's Sandawe is the same as the Damara with the clicking sounds, the musical tone, word and form structure. The clicks can be found here even more than in the Damara. The most significant part of the Sandawe is the Wachwa.

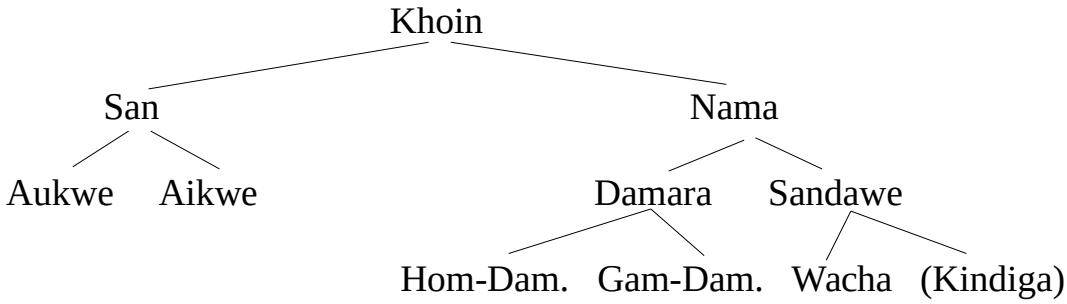
Mr Drexel approves the kinship between Damara and Wachwa through the gender particles attached to the nouns:

Damara	b(a)	mask.	(g)wa, ba	*Wachwa*
	s(a)	fem.	su	
	i	comm.	i	

For the plural, he determines:

Damara	gu	mask.	ko	*Wachwa*
	ti	fem.	si	
	n(na)	comm.	n(na)	

The linguistic facts prove a relationship of Damara and Wachwa, i.e. the typical affiliation of the Wachwa. We have to emphasize that nothing speaks against the languages used in the Khoin. Somatologically, the Pygmies are very close to the Bushmen. It must be said that the San is further divided into Aukwe and Aikwe which also come linguistically close to the Damara or the Nama. Mr Drexel offers for this a scheme:



§4. Sudanic Group

Mr Westermann's work seeks to prove that the “Sudan languages” in the Northern half of Africa are “a genetically coherent language family. This encloses the area from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea and up to the western slopes of Abyssinia. Languages mentioned in Mr Westermann's “Ewe-Grammatik” are difficult to separate from the Hamitic or Bantu language group and their status has not yet been clarified enough.

According to the distribution of Sudan languages proposed by Mr Struck, 15 language groups “formed ad hoc” have the following grading:

I. West Sudan:

1. The Kru languages according to Messrs Koelle, Delafosse and Migeod;
2. The Mande languages according to Messrs Koelle, Steinthal, Delafosse, Migeod;
3. The Kwa languages according to Mr Krause and Mr Christaller;
4. The Niger-Chad languages according to Mr Koelle.

II. Central Sudan:

1. The groups of Barma, Boa, Tumak-Ndam (Mr Gaudefroy-Demombynes);
2. The Chad group (Mr Delafosse), the Teda, Wadai, Mimi and Runya (Mr

Gaudefroy-Demombynes);

3. The southern languages after Mr Nachtigal, including the languages Jassing, Muturua, Hina, Musugeu (Daba), Gidder, Batta and Dari (Weimba) according to Mr Strümpell.

III. The intermediate zone:

1. The Semibantu:

α) Coastal and Senegal Groups (Mr Delafosse), Western Group according to Mr Migeod;

β) Gur languages according to Mr Christaller; Volta group according to Mr Delafosse;

γ) Semibantu from Middle Togo (Mr Westermann):

a) Akposo;

b) Kebu;

c) ten languages of Northern Togo (and beyond);

d) Tafi and Nyangbo;

e) four Bohem languages;

f) Adele.

2. "The older parts":

a) The languages of Mangbei and 21 other languages according to Mr Strümpell;

b) The Madi group according to Mr Johnston, with the exception of the Nilotic according to Mr Czekanowski; equatorial language family after Mr Fr. Müller.

The complete table of the Sudanic languages comes down to:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">North-Western Atlantic</td><td rowspan="2">Mande</td><td>Gur</td><td>Benue-Semibantu</td><td colspan="2">Kanuri</td><td>North-Eastern Sudanic</td></tr>
<tr><td>Middle Togo-Semibantu</td><td>Nupe</td><td>South-Central Sudanic</td><td>Shari</td><td rowspan="2">Nilotic</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Kru</td><td colspan="2">Kwa</td><td>Adamaua</td><td>Ubangi</td></tr>
</table>

Mr Westermann, who recognizes the presence of Bantoid elements in Sudanic, distinguishes the latter from Hamitic by four features: (a) monosyllabic character, with the syllable in the form C + V: (b) relative absence of formative elements and generally isolating character; (c) absence of gender; (d) use of tones. Many Sudanic languages, however, cannot be termed either isolating or monosyllabic; this applies to the prefix-pronominal, no less than the suffix-pronominal groups; the use of tones is very far from having been proved for all Sudanic languages; they seem to be almost non-existent in the semi-Bantu Temne.

A very different kind of classification has been proposed by Mr Delafosse. Basing himself mainly on the morphology of the noun, he sets up seven classes:

1. Isolating: Ewe;
2. Agglutinating: Agni;
3. Evolving classes: Kru and Fanti;
4. With classes and class pronouns: Diola and Serer;

5. Classes and few pronouns: Wolof and Mosi;
6. Lost affixes: Ibo, Mande, Songhai;
7. Gender and inflexion: Hausa.

§5. Niloto-Sudanic Group

The Schilluk belongs to a clearly defined African language group, usually called "Nilotic". Due to the lack of material, just a few main points can be given to its characteristics:

1. Mutes and fricatives, especially *p* and *f*, alternate in some cases;
2. Some, if not all, of these languages have interdental sounds (*t, d, n*). Mr Westermann found them in Schilluk, Anywak, Nuer and Dinka, Mr Meinhof and Mr Struck in Ndorobo and Maasai;
3. The root is mostly Consonant + Vocal + Consonant;
4. The root with a semi-vowel after the initial consonant is common. The stem vowel is often a diphthong;
5. The intonation plays a big role in most of these languages.

According to Mr Westermann, the Nilotic languages now consist of two groups:

a) The Niloto-Sudanic group; b) The Niloto-Hamitic group.

Originally, however, the Nilotic languages probably belonged to the Sudanic languages; phonetics, word form, and some grammatical peculiarities refer to it. There are also elements of Sudanic in their vocabulary, so that is not easy to draw the line between Niloto-Sudanic and Niloto-Hamitic.

On the other hand, the Niloto-Hamitic languages do not have as much common vocabulary with Sudanic, as they do with each other. In the word formation and the use of the formal elements, they differ quite significantly from the Sudanic languages, they also have the grammatical gender.

According to Mr Westermann, Niloto-Sudanic includes:

a) Schilluk with dialects (Middle Nilotic);
b) Dinka and Nuer (Lower Nilotic);
c) Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya, Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru (Upper Nilotic).

In Dinka, the Bor dialect is very different from the northern dialects. The Dinka vocabulary is similar to the Bari. Dinka and Nuer differ only slightly in phonetics and structure from the Schilluk dialects.

The Niloto-Sudanic languages are again a subgroup of the East Sudanic languages, including the Nuba in the north, the Kunama in the northeast. They form with the Central and West Sudanic languages the large Sudanic group that extends through Africa. For a better assessment of the genealogical position of the Schilluk, Mr Westermann refers to the following features of Sudanic:

1. Monosyllabism: each word has one syllable;
2. Every syllable and every word consists of a Consonant + Vowel;
3. Isolating, without flexion, only a few formal elements;
4. No grammatical gender;
5. Intonation is more in use than in Bantu and Hamitic languages.

In their pure form, these characteristics are not found in all of Sudanic languages,

although they developed from one primitive protolanguage. If we apply the Sudanic characteristics mentioned above to Shilluk, we get thus:

1. The stems are monosyllabic;
2. Even if the majority of the stems are not from Consonant + Vowel, the most number of them go back to this form;
3. There is no inflection. There are no class prefixes.
4. There is no grammatical gender, rudiments of it are of the Hamitic origin.
5. Intonation is rather prevailed.

§6. Western African Group

In the areas of upper Senegal and Niger, we encounter languages covering large areas of Western Africa. After the two most distinctive suffixes of their large subgroups (Mandingo and Soninkhe), we call these languages Ngo-Nke; the latter ending *Nke* means “male”, while the first *Ngo* is often used in Mandingo as an affix for animal naming.

There are three types with which the Ngo-Nke languages are initially compiled – Pulah, Manfu, and Bantu. The differences between dialects are in grammar, tonic system, and vocabulary. Below a schematic representation of personal pronounces, and then of vocabulary, introduced by Mr Drexel, makes this process understandable.

Soninkhe	**Bambara**	**Mandingo**	**Soso**
nke	*nte*	*nte*	*n*
anke	*i*	*ite*	*i*
ake	*a*	*ate*	*a*
oku	*ntelu*	*ntolu*	*won, mukhu*
akhaku	*ilu*	*altolu, altelu*	*wo*
ikhunga	*(nimbe)*	*itolu*	*e*
Ewe	**Yorubo**	**Ibo**	**Twi**
me; ne	*emi*	*me; m-*	*mi*
wo	*iwo*	*ni, gi; i*	*wo*
e; ye; wo	*o*	*ya; o*	*(o)no*
mi(e)	*awa*	*ayi*	*yen*
mi	*eyi*	*unu*	*mu*
wo	*awo*	*ha*	*von*

Ngo-Nke		**Pulah**
ke; ka (ko)	man (person)	ko
ngo, u	animals, concretives, places	nge, ngo, ngu
ko	plants	ko, ho
d'a	qualificatives	d'o
re, ro, ru	individuals	re, ro, ru

§7. Bantu Group

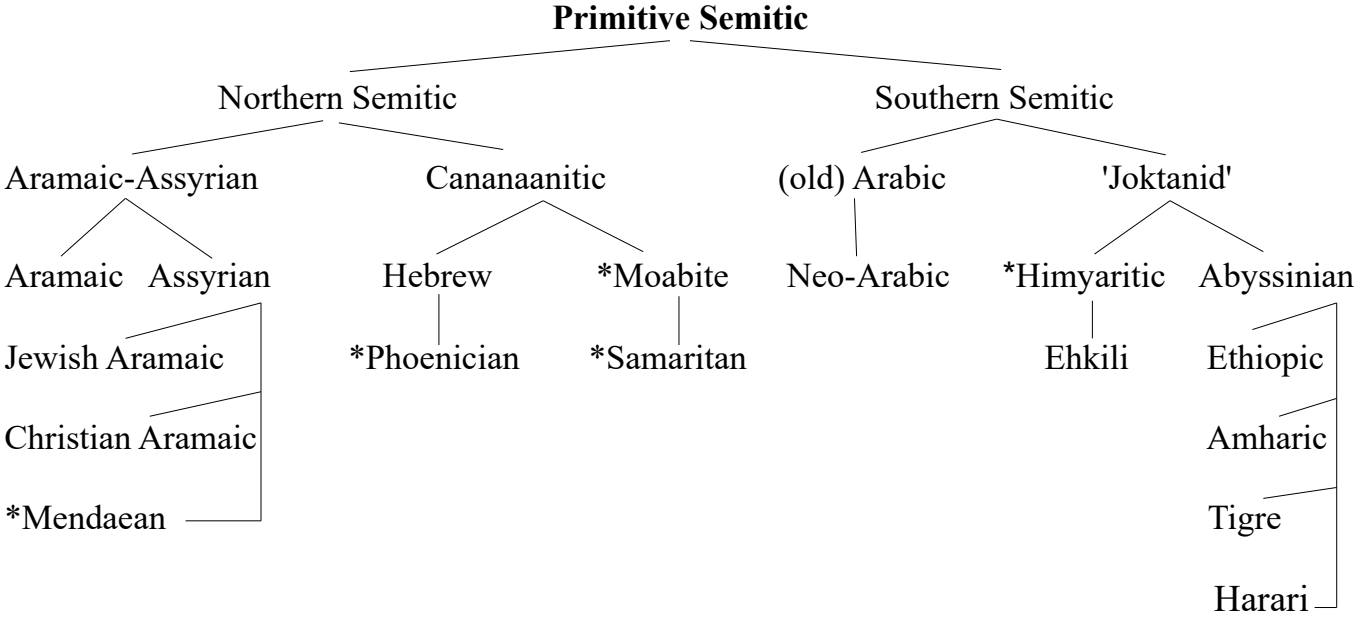
Bantu is the largest language group in Africa. Its classification is thus manyfold, represented by many linguists, among whom Mr Drexel names three persons: Mr Bleek, Mr Torrend, and Mr Finck. The table below shows the Bantu paradigm in details.

Bleek	**Torrend**	**Finck**
A. Middle Group: 1. West-North – a) Kongo Genus, West-South – b) Bunda Genus. 2. East-North – c) Zangian Genus, East-South – d) Mosambique Genus. 3. Middle – e) Languages of the Interior. B. North-Eastern Group: a) Dikele, β) Benga, γ) Dualla, δ) Isubu, ε) Fernando-Po-Dialect. C. South-Eastern Group: a) Kafir – a) Xosa, β) Zulu; b) Setshwana – a) Serolon, ß) Seχ'lapi, γ) Sesuto; c) Tekeza.	A. Main Group: 1. Eastern Half – a) Kafir-Gr., b) Karanga-Gr., c) Tonga-Gr., d) Sena-Gr., e) Viti-Gr., f) Gangi-Gr., g) Ungu-Gr., h) Sagara-Gr., Namwezi-Gr., j) Rega-Gr., k) Ganda-Gr., l) Taita-Gr., m) Nika-Gr., n) Pokomo, o) Kamba, p) Swahili-Gr., q) Šambala-Gr., r) Ibo-Gr., s) Zaramo, t) Konde, u) Yao. 2. Western Half – a) Herro-Gr., b) Bengala-Gr., c) Kwango (Mbunda), d) Rotse-Gr., e) Boko-Gr., f) Angola-Gr., g) Kongo, h) Lunda, i) Guha-Gr., j) Nwema-Gr., k) Rua, l) Luba, m) Yansi-Gr. B. Kua Group: 1. Eastern Half – a) Tšwana-Gr., b) Nambane-Gr., c) Mosambik-Gr., d) Tšaga-Gr., e) Komoro-Gr. 2. Western Half – a) Buma, b) Pongwe-Gr., c) Duala-Gr., d) Fan.	A. External Division: 1. South-Eastern Subdivision – a) Kafir-Gr., b) Tonga-Gr., c) Venda, d) Tswana-Gr., e) Lenge, f) Makua-Gr. 2. Noth-West Subdivision – a) Bubi, b) Kamerun-Gr., c) Fan, d) Pongwe, e) Middle-Kongo. B. Middle Division: 1. Eastern Subdivision – a) Noro-Gr., b) Ganda-Gr., c) Kamba, d) Rega, e) Taita-Gr.; f) Pokomo, g) Nika-Gr., h) Džaga-Gr., i) Namwezi-Gr., j) Rundi-Gr., k) Nwema-Gr., l) Guha-Gr., m) Šambala-Gr., n) Swahili-Gr., o) Sagara-Gr., p) Kinga, q) Gangi-Gr., r) Ungu-Gr., s) Coast-Konde, t) Nyassa-Konde, u) Komoro-Gr., v) Pangwa, w) Yao, x) Sena-Gr., y) Senga-Gr., z) Karanga-Gr. 2. Western Subdivision – a) Herero-Gr., b) Tonga-Gr., c) South-Mbumbe, d) Kwango, e) Rotse-Gr., f) Angola-Gr., g) Loango, h) Buma, i) Lunda, j) Luba-Gr.

Mr Meinhof divides this branch into: I. *ki*-languages, which do not alter *ki*-prefix; II. *chi*-languages, which alter *k*-prefix to *chi, tji, shi* through Umlaut; III. *si*-languages, where *s* is replaced to *k*; IV. *e*-languages, where *k* totally disappears. Another subdivision includes: 1. *t*-languages, 2. *l*-languages, 3. *h*-languages, or 4. *p-v-w-b-bf*-languages.

§8. Semito-Hamitic Group

The classification of Semitic languages is given in my book “Evolutionary Typology of Languages”. I quote here only a few passages. The word “Semitic” goes back to the Hebrew “sem” and signifies a sign, a name or Arabic “ism”. Semitic languages firstly followed to IE languages in structure have stopped in the middle of its development. They differ, especially in roots. The roots consisting of three consonants were simple in the beginning, and it is proved by the comparison of all language roots. Semitic languages are distinguished by a wealth of sounds, guttural and aspirated. Under Semitic languages, one embraces separated languages divided into five main groups: 1) Babylon-Assyrian, 2) Aramaic, 3) Cananaanitic, 4) Arabic, 5) Ethiopic.



There are seven types of languages in the Hamitic group (after Mr Hestermann):

1. The Ful is probably the oldest accessible to us. It is very close to the Proto-Bantu;
2. The Hausa is an example of the West Hamitic language group;
3. The Shilh is a sample of the Berber languages;
4. The Bedauye is the northernmost of the East African Hamitic languages;
5. The Somali is one of the southern Hamitic languages of East Africa;
6. The Maasai is a sample of an ancient Hamitic language influenced by Sudanic;
7. The Nama is an example of the Hottentot languages.

The relationships between the Hamitic and Bantu languages is thus: the Bantu has with the Ful similarity in the sound structure, especially in the nasal connections. Bantu grammar has preserved a lot of Hamitic elements: classifications and the corresponding manyfold plurals. The Ful seems to stand on the border between the Bantu and Hamitic languages. In favor of it one finds: 1. the Bantu-like phenomena mentioned by Mr Westermann; 2. many of the sound laws of the Ful are the same as those in Bantu; 3. positional laws of *subiectum regens* and Genitive are the same in both; 4. the positional difference is balanced by mixed languages with double positions.

The chief differences between Semitic and Hamitic are traced by Mr Lepsius and by Mr Müller. (1) To the traditional Hamitic group Mr Lepsius added other languages not

usually considered Hamitic: Hausa (which he linked with Berber) and Nama. (2) Mr Lepsius lumped the Negro and Bantu groups into one family, whereas Mr Müller kept them separate. (3) From the Negro family Mr Müller extracted a heterogeneous Nuba-Fula group, which subsequent scholarship proved to be totally unjustified. Both Mr Lepsius and Mr Müller used non-linguistic criteria, such as skin color, hair type, and mode of subsistence, in establishing their classifications. Mr Lepsius, in addition, used typological traits, such as the presence or absence of gender, which do not lead to valid genetic groups.

African Language Group

(Lepsius)	**(Müller)**
Semitic	*Semitic*
Hamitic:	*Hamitic:*
I Ancient Egyptian	I Ancient Egyptian
II Cushitic	II Cushitic
III Berber-Hausa	III Berber
IV Nama-Bushman	
Negro:	Nuba-Fula
I Bantu	Negro
II Mixed Negro	Bantu
	Nama-Bushman

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PART III
CAUCASIAN LANGUAGE TYPE

§ 1. Linguistic Position of Caucasian Languages

The interest to Caucasian languages for comparative linguistics is recognized by all scholars. From the viewpoint of the typological development of languages in general, their importance was emphasized above all by Soviet linguists in the “Japhetological theses” and in the “new linguistic doctrine”. So it seems that the Caucasian languages play a more important role than before.

The first problem we face to is the linguistic position of the Caucasian languages to each other. The languages of the South do not represent any difficulty. For a long time, we have been talking about the Kartvelian type of Caucasian languages. This group, most recently characterized by Mr Chikobava, is remarkably homogeneous, except for the Svane spoken in the high valleys of the Caucasus. Georgian dialects are very close to each other. Mingrelian and Lazish have roughly the same phonetic system and structure. As for the languages of the North, one is surprised by their typological and dialectical fragmentation, undoubtedly caused by the isolation of the valleys in the severe landscapes of the Caucasus.

The classification of the North Caucasus dialects is not final, so far. They represent two distinct groups, that of the East and that of the West. Eastern languages are characterized by an underdeveloped declension: Abkhazian has no declension at all, while Ubykh and Adyghe show rudiments of the primitive declension, made on the basis of postpositions. The three Adyghe cases are clearly opposed to the thirty Avar cases or the twenty-six Aghoul cases. The designation of persons does not play a significant role: there are several languages which only know the impersonal verb. On the contrary, the notion of the person is very important in the languages of the West: the verbal form does not only carry the indices of the person-subject (as in the IE languages), but the verb must have the indices for people who take part in the action. With regard to this verbal type, the same state of affairs is found in the various Paleoasiatic languages. This phenomenon also exists in Basque and in Romance languages. In the nominal structure, the languages of the East possess a limited number of morphological elements: the name forms an internal and autonomous entity there. The lexical structure is based on the principle of independent and isolated names for each idea. On the contrary, the languages of the Western group emphasize composition: quite simple ideas are expressed there by compound words, e.g.: Abkh. *-mca* “fire” + *-bz* “language”: *a-mca-bz* “flame” etc.

Within the Northern groups, linguists seek to establish their phonetic concordances with certain success. They explain them as the development of a common language. The proposed concordances only characterize a few languages in general so that we are far from the reconstruction of the North Caucasian branch.

Most Caucasian languages differ greatly from that of other IE languages, especially with regard to the use of subject cases in relation to verbal form. Mr Schuchardt has already drawn the attention of linguists to this phenomenon, when he spoke of the passive character of the transitive verb in Georgian. Apart from the Caucasian languages, this syntactic phenomenon exists especially in Basque and in the Paleoasiatic languages.

The concordances between Basque and Caucasian languages with regard to lexical and grammatical structure in general have led linguists to discover interesting similarities between the Caucasian languages, especially Kartvelian, and the ancient languages of the

Mediterranean and Asia. It should be noted that there are serious reasons to believe that some ancient languages, especially in Asia, are closely related to the languages from which the contemporary Caucasian languages developed. These investigations show an important role of Caucasian languages and their linguistic type in the evolution of Mediterranean languages. Relying not only on the vocabulary matches, but also on the structural analogies in the Basque language and the Caucasian languages, linguists created the notion of Ibero-Caucasian. But this attempt is based on the current state of the languages. It does not count with the possibility of a typological reconstruction. The linguistic type is not constant, it is constantly renewed, cooperating with other types within the framework of linguistic union.

Northern Caucasian languages are representatives of the ergative type. The distinctions existing among them are on the whole fairly insignificant: whereas Abkhaz-Adyghe languages are, according to their structural features, very close to the ergative standards, Nakh includes certain elements of nominative typology. Kartvelian languages differ typologically from both Northern Caucasian groups: these languages have evident features of a transition State from ergative (or active) to the nominative. It is a certain number of characteristic features of the ergative, nominative and, to some extent, active type, that are found to be the common Caucasian lexical, syntactic and morphological analogies.

Thus, in lexics the dichotomy of transitive and intransitive verbs is generally thought of as a feature shared by ergative and nominative languages. On the other hand, the opposition of dynamic and static verbs, also registered in Caucasian languages, closely reminds us of the opposition of active and stative verbs in active languages. The occurrence of a special group of the so-called “affective” verbs in various ergative and nominative languages as rudimentary phenomenon, can be given a synchronic motivation in the active type languages. Such special feature of Caucasian languages as the existence of two parallel adjectives both for “thin” and “thick” referring to the objects of flat and round shape, can be considered as a remote reminiscence of once used class distribution of substantives.

In morphology, a typical opposition of the ergative and absolutive cases in the nominal paradigm is also given a content-oriented typological interpretation. Another feature of the ergative type namely the opposition of the ergative and absolutive series of personal verbal affixes is represented in Caucasian languages in a less pronounced manner. One may assert the presence of both phenomena in Kartvelian languages only with certain reservations since the usage of the cases and personal affix series in them reminds us in many respects of the mechanism of the similar oppositions in the active type languages.

As a general rule preferred sentence word order is subject-object-verb, although subject-verb-object is by no means uncommon, especially in South Caucasian. As already observed, the languages are predominantly postpositional. Adjectives in South Caucasian, North-Central Caucasian, and North-East Caucasian normally precede their nouns, but in North-West Caucasian only those signifying nationality, indefinite adjectives, and ordinals may do so, adjective + noun or noun + adjective in North-West Caucasian often forming a single compound word. Adnominal genitives also generally precede their nouns, and indeed they must do so in North-West Caucasian. The North-West Caucasian

possessive construction differs from that of the other Caucasian languages and resembles that of Turkish: not only does the possessor stand in the genitive. which is identical to the dative and ergative (and we are here talking specifically of Circassian and Ubykh, for these case endings do not exist in Abkhaz-Abaza), but the possessed noun also carries the appropriate pronominal possessive prefix. A unique feature of Adyghe (together with the Sesleney dialect of Kabard-Cherkes) is the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

§ 2. Classification of Caucasian Languages

The Caucasian language family is usually divided into Southern and Northern group.

CAUCASIAN:

I SOUTH

II NORTH:
A NORTH-WEST
B NORTH-EAST:
1 NAKH
2 DAGESTAN:
a AVARO-ANDI-DIDO
b LAK-DARGWA
c LEZGIAN

The main disagreement, according to Mr Ruhlen, “has to do with the relationship of the Nakh group to other Northern subgroups. There have been three proposals: (1) the Nakh group is intermediate between North-East and North-West Caucasian and thus constitutes one of three primary branches of North Caucasian; (2) the Nakh group forms one of two primary branches of North-East Caucasian, the other branch containing the remainder of the North-Eastern languages; and (3) the Nakh group is simply one of several North-Eastern subgroups”. We get thus a paradigm:

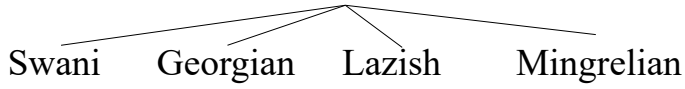
NORTH CAUCASIAN:
I. NORTH-WEST
II. NAKH
III. NORTH-EAST

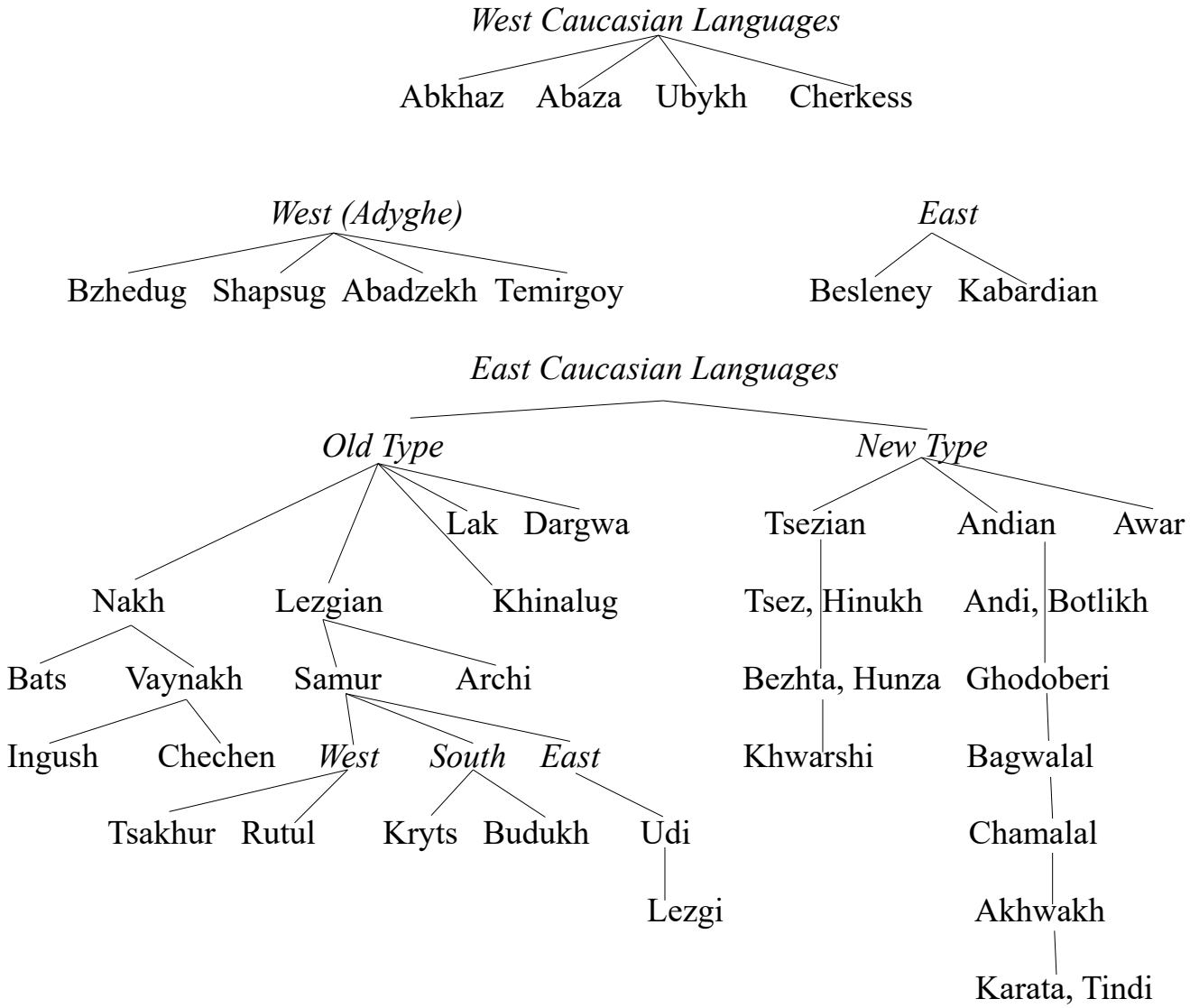
NORTH CAUCASIAN:
I. NORTH-WEST
II. NORTH-EAST:
A. NAKH
B. DAGESTAN:
1. AVARO-ANDI-DIDO
2. LAK-DARGWA
3. LEZGIAN

NORTH CAUCASIAN:
I. NORTH-WEST
II. NORTH-EAST:
A. NAKH
B. AVARO-ANDI DIDO
C. LAK-DARGWA
D. LEZGIAN

Mr Schulze goes the simplest way, dividing Caucasian groups into South, West, and East.

South Caucasian Languages





§ 3. The North-West Caucasian Languages

The sound system of the North-West Caucasian languages shows a strange picture. The vowels, which in Abkhazian can be traced back to only two basic vowels *a* and *ə,* are opposed to a large number of consonants (up to 70 in individual dialects). Numerous affricates and spirants fall under this. Toneless plosives and affricates are articulated with aspiration or larynx, Kabardian even knows glotto-spirants. Many sounds appear labialized or palatalized. Circassian and Ubykh have lateral sounds, Ubykh has peculiar labial vibrants that are almost unpronounceable for the stranger.

North-West Caucasian (Abkhazo-Circassian), unlike North-East Caucasian, is distinguished by its consonantal groupings, particularly its labialised sibilants, which are found only in Tabassaran. The southern variety of North-West Caucasian, Abkhazian, with its seventy-five predominantly consonantal phonemes, is phonetically one of the most difficult. As usual in Caucasian, both Northern and Southern, a simple vowel-system is opposed to and modified by an extremely involved system of consonants, which include labialised and glottalised phonemes, a diversity of affricates, and two bilabial vibrants. Abkhazian structure does not recognise declension, but exhibits the presence of the class

dichotomies human/non-human and masculine/feminine.

The languages are built up from roots, which in Circassian originally consisted of consonant + vowel. Since the number of such structures is limited, this may explain the abundance of consonants, which, like the tones in Chinese, increase the possibilities of distinction. The roots of Abkhazian consist of one or two consonants with or without a vowel. In Abkhazian and Ubykh, the nouns do not appear in a detached form, but only with formatives that indicate the possessive person, determinacy or indeterminacy. So there is no “dictionary form”: Abkh. *sə-bla* “my eye”, *u-blah* “your eye”, *a-blah* “the eye”; *blah* “eye” does not comes on its own. Circassian also has these interpretive elements, but the noun can appear without them. Only the Abkhazian distinguishes between reasonable (male and female) beings and things. The declination is noticeably poor.

Only the Abkhazian has the suffix *-s* (“to make to”, “to have as”), which is probably related to the South Caucasian object case on *-s*, while Ubykh and Circassian distinguish between case agents and obliques. The verbal form incorporates almost all possible relationships in the sentence through special formatives (incorporation), so that the declension of the nouns is superfluous. A peculiarity of the North-West languages is the strong tendency to compose in the manner of Abkh. *a-č'a-də* = Ubykh. *A-č'ä-bzi* = Kab. *u-p's* “saliva”. The adjective, which does not appear as a special part of the speech in Circassian, is placed after the noun that defines it: Abkh. *a-la-ž* “the old dog” (*a-la* “the dog”); Ubykh *t'ət'-a-gä* “a bad man” (*t'ət'* “man”). In Circassian, the numerals are also added (*mazə-bgu* “nine months”, *maze* “month”), while Abkhazian and Ubykh express themselves differently in this case. The genetic relationship is indicated by the prefix of the definite article in front of the possessed object by the prefix of the definite article and often in the obliquus in Ubykh and Circassian. The latter takes the corresponding possessive prefix: Abkh. *a-an lə-p'a* “the mother's son”, literally “the mother her son”; Ubykh *a-ǰiλ-an gə-cäk'i* “the brother's tooth”, literally “the brother his tooth”.

The personal pronouns show independent and prefixed forms: Abkh. *s-ara*, Ubykh *so-goa, kjach. s-er*, Kab. *s-ere* “I” next to *sə-, se-, si-, s-*. The personal prefixes come after the noun to denote possession, to the verb to express the subject or object. Abkh. *sə-p'a* “my son”, *sə-qoup'* “I am”, *sə-u-gu-a-p'x-ueit'* “you love me”; Ubykh *sd-mis-an* “I read”, *sd-bien* “He sees me”.

Like almost all Caucasian languages, the numerals show the system of twenty. Ordinal numbers are missing in Abkhazian, the other languages form them from the basic number words using the possessive prefixes and a suffix of affiliation: Ubykh *gə-t'qo-hə* “the second”, Kab. *ji-t'u-ane*.

Due to its complicated structure, the North-West Caucasian verb is strongly reminiscent of the incorporating languages of the North American Indians and certain Old Siberian peoples. Every verbal form is a sentence in the small, which is able to express through formative carriers and aim of the action, local and adverbial relations, tenses and modes and manifold relations, which we reproduce by subordinate clauses; so the predicate is the most important part of the sentence, which takes up everything said in the sentence again and thereby compensates for the lack of a proper declension. The basic conception of the verb seems to be approaching the nominal character; one can form verbs from nouns or adjectives without difficulty by adding the verb endings (underlined):

Abkh. *a-mac'u-cʸ a hsa'-xʸəč'-kʷ-oup'* “the servants are little girls”; Ubykh *t'it'-c'-et* “He was a good man”.

As in all Caucasian languages, the conception of the subject is different in the transitive and intransitive verb; in the first case, it is not the carrier of the action but the goal that is in the “nominative”. The sequence subject – direct object – corresponds to the reverse sequence of the pronominal prefixes in the verbal form. In addition to the prefixes of the pronouns, the verbal form can contain elements that explain the relationships between them or, like preverbs, denote local conditions: Ubykh *sdgoa u-z-ǰi-k'ä-o-š* “I-will-you-I-go-together?”, i.e. “Are you coming with me?” (*z-ǰi* = “with me”). Nouns can also be used in the verbal form to clarify the meaning: Abkh. *s-gʸ-bl-wejt'* “I heart-burn”, that is, “I suffer”. Further infixes or suffixes express negation, question, relative relationship and secondary expressions. The North-West Caucasian verbal form is thus an intricate structure in which, overgrown by an abundance of formatives, the root, which often consists of only a single consonant.

§ 4. The North-East Caucasian Languages

The North-East Caucasian languages also show a great wealth of consonants. The sound systems of the individual language dialects vary, so only the languages of the Avaro-Andean tribe have lateral sounds. The affricates are strongly represented, labialised. The distinction between strong (geminated) and weak (less articulated) consonants plays a special role.

From morphological viewpoint, following Mr Matthews, “all North Caucasian languages oppose a *casus agens* (agentive), the subject of a transitive verb, to a *casus patiens*, the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one, and their purely verbal bases consist of a single consonant. There is a division of nouns into from two to eight classes, each distinguished by a special consonant or consonants affixed to members of all the grammatical categories associated with a given noun, and thus establish a formal nexus in gender and number among the members of the syntactic complex. This may be illustrated from Awar in which *w* is the masculine, *j* the feminine index: *dow tsi wugo ruq'ow* “this man is in the house” and *doj ttfuzujigo ruq'oj* “this woman is in the house”. Nominal and verbal flexion operates by means of suffixes added to appropriate bases, of which the noun may have four (e.g. the Lak patiens sing. *harts'* “wolf”; *burts'i-l*; patiens pl. *harts'ru*; gen. pl. *hurts'irdi-l*), and the verb may have two (durative and perfective). The personal pronouns have an even more irregular system, and only the adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and numerals present a more uniform (agglutinative) type of flexion. The nominal declension is well articulated, and the entire system pivot on the syntactic and morphematic antithesis of *casus agens* and *casus patiens.* The verbal radicals are preceded by prefixes indicating aspect and class and are followed by suffixes of tense and mood. The North-East Caucasian languages, except Lak and Dargwa, do not make a distinction between personal and impersonal forms of the verb and have no personal flexion. Two languages, Tabassaran and Udi, introduce pronominal enclitics as substitutes for the latter, presumably under alien influence”.

The most important characteristic of the North-Eastern type is the division of the

nouns into classes or categories, one each for the sensible, sexually mature male and female beings and one to four for the other living beings and the world of things. The latter are ordered according to a principle that is no longer recognizable to us, the system itself seems to be in decline. While the Chechen language tribe still distinguishes six classes, their number decreases towards the east, the four-class system of Dargua corresponds to one with only three such in the Avaro-Andean group; Tabassaran only knows the difference between people and things, Lesgh and Udic do not know any nominal classes, but they probably had them earlier. While the noun itself, with few exceptions, (cf. Avar. *w-ac* "brother", *j-ac* "sister") has no reference to the class, all other parts of the speech – verb, adjective, pronoun, numerals, adverb – as well as with certain locative endings that are to be thought of as adjectives; their own formative indicates that the carrier of the action or the aim of the action belongs to a certain nominal class. This reference runs through the sentence, the structure of which is similar to that of the African Bantu languages: Avar. *či-w ox'ula "*the man is happy", *j-ac jox'ula* "the sister is happy", *či-jass b-ec-ula ha-b žo* "the man praises this thing" (*w-* = sign of the masculine, *j-* = the consecrated, *b-* = the subject category).

The declination is extremely rich in form. The most important case form is almost always the instrumental or active, from which mostly the genitive and dative are derived transitive sentences, while the goal of the action appears in the nominative: Lesgh. *Bagir-a bag ejer xyzava* "the garden is well guarded by Baghyr", i.e. "Baghyr guards the garden well". The locative elements, which, besides the local relationship (*in, at, on, under*), express rest, movement towards the object, away from the object and through it through certain suffixes, are strikingly numerous. The variety of the plural endings makes learning these languages difficult. In addition, the Umlaut is often added when forming the oblique case and the plural.

Genitive and adjective in attributive position come before the associated noun. At the 1st pl. Of the personal pronoun, Avar and Andean distinguish an inclusive and exclusive form. With few exceptions, the numerals show the system of twenty. The ordinalia are usually formed using a nominal form of the verb "to say".

The verb is characterized by a similar abundance of temporal and modal differentiations as in the North-West Caucasian. The number of possible forms increases through connection with the verbal nouns. Almost everywhere every verb forms a so-called momentative and durative stem to express the uniqueness or duration of the action. Often, verbal stems are formed by combining with auxiliary verbs "to be", "will", "to have", which are particularly prominent in Udish, which only knows a few simple verbs (*aš-besun* "to do a thing", "to work").

§ 5. The South Caucasian Languages

The South Caucasian languages approach the IE languages through the inflection. The so-called "grouped inflection" is not a main characteristic of the South Caucasian languages. The verb has real stems, even if in some cases the stem-forming suffixes are frozen and are regarded by today's sense of language as belonging to the root. The existence of the verbal form is very complicated. The latter can be composed of one or

more prepositions, which indicate the direction of the activity or are just completion prefixes, as in the completed aspect of the Slavic verb; from a subjective or objective pronominal prefix; a vowel, which expresses the relationship between the agent and the target; then the root follows (with or without stem suffix), to which tense ending, modal vowel, personal or plural suffix is added: *wa-sen-eb-di* “I built” (*w-* subjective prefix of the 1st person, *a-* vowel, *vsen* “build”, *-eb* stem ending of the present tense, *-d-* formative of the past tense, *-i* – to the 1st or 2nd person related ending).

The tenses and modes of the verb are divided into a Present Tense, Aorist and Perfect group, each of which understands the carrier and goal of the action differently. In the Present Tense group (Ind. Pres., Conj. Pres.) The carrier of the action is in the nominative, the closer target in the object case in *-sa* (dative): *mama hk'it'haws swilsa* “The father asks the son”. In the Aorist group, the subject stands in the so-called “active stem” on *-man* (> ma > m) the ending probably contains a pronominal interpretation element, and the object is in the nominative: *zang-ma c'ama t'op'i* “The rust ate the shotgun”. In the Perfect group, the carrier of the action stands in the *-sa* case, the aim in the nominative. The forms of the perfect group are followed by the objective pronominal prefixes.

There are a small number of verbs that also take the objective prefixes in the Present Tense and also require the subject in the *-sa* case, the object in the nominative: *me-sm-is* “I hear”, proper “I hear is” (*sm-en-a* “hear”), *mama-s u-qwar-s swili* “The father loves the son”. In common verbs, the object can be indicated by an objective prefix, but the verbal form may only contain a pronominal prefix; if an objective is attached to the form, an existing subjective prefix must give way: *wa-k'-eb* “I praise”; *ga-k'-eb* “I praise you”. In dealing with the carrier and aim of the action, the South Caucasian follows the common Caucasian view to a considerable extent. Georgian, on the other hand, and, under its influence, the other South Caucasian languages, knows relative pronouns and conjunctions to introduce subordinate clauses.

§ 6. Interrelationships

The Caucasian languages have not yet been thoroughly researched to show their relationship to other language groups with any degree of certainty, especially since even an original association of the three types, which are today so strongly separated, is still unclear. After all, there are clear connections between the three Caucasian groups in terms of vocabulary, form and structure; Abkhazian seems to be an important link, bridging both the Dagestan languages and the South Caucasian languages.

The relationship between the South Caucasian language tribe and Abkhazian and the Basque language in the Pyrenees seems certain to me. The correspondences in morphology and vocabulary are too numerous to deny the connection between these spatially so widely separated languages.

The echoes of the South Caucasian to Sumerian are unexplained, as well as the strange connections with the Semito-Hamitic language group in the formation of participles and nouns through prefixes. More important are the often correspondences between South Caucasian and IE languages, especially in the verb, the formation of the aspect by preverbs as in the Slavic languages, other peculiarities, such as the formative of

the imperfect tense, which can been compared with the weak Past Tense of German.

Working on the Caucasian vocabulary can also provide valuable results for IE language research. An important task would be careful determination and organization of the IE feudal property within the Caucasian languages. Mr Trubetskoy has found that Iranian loanwords have been preserved in the North-West group, which do not come from the language of the Ossetian Alans, but from unknown Scythian dialects. Even within the South and North-East Caucasian there are words that are certainly IE without us being able to assign them to a specific language.

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